GIANT PEACE CONGRESS ASSEMBLES IN CHICAGO ... SEE P. 7

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 5 cents
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ADVICE ON AN ANNIVERSARY

Let us stay sane

ON THIS ANNIVERSARY OF THE KOREAN WAR we pause to survey the David-and-Goliath struggle between the past and the future.

We see horror—and hope. David slew Goliath with a slingshot. He was small, but he kept his wits about him. We propose to do the same.

There was another anniversary last week, which passed unnoticed. On June 22, 1941, Hitler threw the swollen might of world fascism against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. After he had reduced a third of that country to the same heap of rubble and corpses to which we have now reduced Korea, he was smashed. The whole world acknowledged then that those armed with the slingshot of socialism had saved civilization.

WHAT DO WE READ in our newspapers on June 22, 1951?

● Premier Mossadegh of Iran gets a unanimous vote of confidence in both houses of parliament for nationalizing Iran's oil. The colonial world is in revolt (see p. 6)—not against "Soviet imperialism" (Gordon Schaffer's Prague report answers that on p. 9) but against the only imperialism there is, the imperialism of the self-styled "free nations."

● "The West"—i.e., reluctant Britain and France trailing on a leash behind the Truman Administration's caricature of Uncle Sam—quits the Four Power conference in Paris saying there is "no practical utility" in further discussing an agenda for talks with their former ally. In Korea the "free nations" continue to slaughter "gooks"—at the cost (according to Gen. Bradley) of 140,000 U. S. casualties; in Malaya, British forces intensify bombing of their rebellious slaves. But the British people's outcry against U. S. domination grows, the days of the misleaders of British Labour are numbered. And in the rigged elections in France and Italy, where Washington has spent millions of dollars to buy "Ja" ballots, the catastrophic decline in votes for Washington parties shows the clear light of dawn ahead.

● At the 300th commencement ceremonies at Harvard, whose conservative president Lowell once fought for the right of socialist Harold Laski to lecture there, honorary doctorates are given to Warren Austin, architect of the destruction of UN; John J. McCloy, U. S. occupation chief in Germany who freed Ilse Koch; Gordon Gray, new chief of "psychological warfare" against socialism, and war mobilization chief Charles E. Wilson.

● In New York, where advertising kings Batton, Barton, Durstine & Osborn master-mind the doctoring of American pates for "atomic defense" against an "enemy" threatening no one, New York University psychology professor George B. Vetter urges "practicing hymns so you'll be prepared—the old hymns are wonderful for calming crowds."

● In Trenton, N. J., the "Institute on Mental Hygiene Aspects of Civil Defense" has a meeting. Here where six innocent Americans, in a crude frame-up by the Goliath of "the law" itself, would have been put to death but for David's untiring fight, Francis Russell, director of the State Dept. Office of Public Affairs, emphasizes "our moral position throughout the world." And Dr. G. M. Gilbert, prison psychologist at the Nuremberg trial of Goering and Co., adds that we must "combat totalitarianism with the most formidable and most feared weapon—the truth."

● In a speech on "spiritual qualities" at Lennoxville, Que., publisher Arthur Hays Sulzberger of the N. Y. **Times** (which for 2½ years could find no space to report the Trenton frame-up) deplores "too much emphasis on physical survival."

● Bail is fixed at $191,000 (U. S. Atty. Cohn says it will be raised much higher) for 17 leaders of the tiny U. S. Communist Party who, we are seriously expected to believe, would overthrow the government by force if allowed at large. Meanwhile a curtain of silence is droped over the documented revelations of Rep. Thomas Werdel (R-Calif.) concerning a forcible government-overthrowing plan marked "official": the Pentagon blueprint for seizing power by the military, based on the plan worked out by Nazi Gen. Heinz Guderian (GUARDIAN, April 25, May 16, 1951).

WE HUMBLY SUBMIT that the pattern of official America today is a pattern of outright madness. And we rise in confidence, even as "America's" insane "Operation Killer" enters its second year in Korea, to stress the first part of the ancient wisdom of Sophocles: "Whom Jupiter would destroy, he first drives mad."

Hitler saw it come to pass, and so will our uranium-drunk Hitlers who urge that we ape or surpass the dead Fuehrer's techniques to smash socialism (e.g., **Look** magazine June 5, pp. 31-35) or who anoint "defensive" atomic war on Russia with heavenly blessings (e.g., Very Rev. Edmund A. Walsh, **Total Empire**, Bruce Pub. Co., Milwaukee).

Fulminating about Russians "marching with the shuffling gait of Asiatic hordes" (Hitler's exact words before the "hordes" got him), Brig. Gen. Howley lamented this month that "the air is full of peace talk."

HOWLEY IS RIGHT. Millions of Americans are not mad and don't aim to be. They will rise and demand peace because only madmen could want war.

As we go to press thousands of peacemakers are on their way from all over the nation to Chicago for the People's Peace Congress. We believe this congress will bring together the broadest peace forces to gather in America since the cold war began.

With faith in the future we salute the congress.

Above all things truth beareth away the victory.
—I Esdras, III.

KOREA: ONE YEAR AFTER — United Nations photo

In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil: whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother—I. JOHN 3: 10.

An anniversary for US too

FOR NATIONAL GUARDIAN, TOO, this is an anniversary in the fight for peace.

Three Junes ago, in 1948, a handful of newspapermen and women got together to shape up a new national newsweekly, which would try to catch and keep alive the spirit of the great American progressive mobilization of the 1948 Presidential campaign.

A "preview" issue published in late July got an enthusiastic response in advance subscriptions and in October the GUARDIAN began publishing regularly.

Today, you who read this newsweekly have the best company in America. At every crossroads, in each of more than 4,000 communities throughout all 48 states, NATIONAL GUARDIAN is welcomed weekly by subscribers who make up the real grass-roots determination of the American people to live at peace with all the world, to gain for people here and everywhere the bounty and security which are their due as producers of the world's wealth.

IF YOU ARE, for example, a delegate to the American Peace Congress in Chicago, what you do in concert with other men and women from all parts of our country will be known by next weekend in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, in Bayard, New Mexico, in 400 cities and towns in California, in thousands of households in Chicago, Los Angeles and New York; in northernmost Maine and deep in the heart of Texas.

If you are one of the folks back home who have chipped in to send a delegate, who have stayed in the peace fight and passed the facts along to stem the tidal wave of press and radio hysteria, you know through the GUARDIAN that you are not alone, that there are thousands like you doing the same tough job that the real patriots in America have had to do since the days of Jefferson, William Lloyd Garrison and the Anti-Imperialists of the turn of the century.

NO LABEL can apply to GUARDIAN readers. You are young and old; bank clerks and miners; businessmen and farmers; office workers and engineers; postal clerks, cops, doctors, priests and ministers; housewives, men-at-arms, editors, union men and women: a real cross-section of America from coast to coast, from the poorest to the richest.

The bond is not political; it is human. It is the hope and confidence that peace can be won for our generation and all those to come; that it needs only for the people of America to whom peace is precious to join forces and make their voices heard and heeded in the councils where peace is being bartered for gain.

See Report to Readers, page 2

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THE MAIL BAG

They are alive!

CAMDEN, N. J.

It was my privilege, thanks to the GUARDIAN, to reach all the way to Harrisburg, Pa., from Camden, N. J., to let a family know their son is alive. The happiness and anxiety in this man's voice made me fill up with tears of honest emotion. All this family knew was that their son was "missing in action." And these cold words filled them with foreboding because, of course, they felt that he might very well be dead. It is interesting to note that upon telling a neighbor of my thrilling experience, she said, "I didn't think they took prisoners, I thought they were all killed." This is indeed a sad commentary on the press and War Dept. of our country that keeps from anxious families any news of their missing boys.

A Reader

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LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Through your newspaper I have received the first ray of hope. My husband's picture was published by your paper June 6. He has been reported "missing in action"—but now I know that he is a prisoner and alive!

E. L. Arias

For Mr. Anonymous

NEW YORK, N. Y.

This is an answer to Anonymous, whose letter you printed June 6. Mr. Anonymous thinks "the GUARDIAN is now so thorough a party-line mouthpiece" that he will discontinue when his subscription expires.

I feel that the GUARDIAN is one of the very few truthful and clear-thinking and direct-speaking papers in the country. I enclose $2 for someone who cannot afford to subscribe and thus offset Mr. Anonymous.

Sadie Grossman

Not fit to sit

BLOOMSFIELD, CONN.

The Constitution says "Congress shall make no law . . ." Congress did make such a law—the Smith Act. Six justices of the Supreme Court declared that law unconstitutional. It can be only one, or both, of two things: either those Supreme Court justices do not understand plain, simple English words, or they deliberately violated their oath of office. In either case their decision proves them to be unqualified and unfit.

Fred M. Mansur

The real leadership

WEST NEWBURY, MASS.

A number of letters bemoan the fact that we don't have any good leadership. My opinion is that there is plenty of good leadership. The majority of it has been silenced in the press and radio and the red scare. What this means is that the leadership has to be assumed by the little people like you and me—where it has always belonged. It means building sound personal relations with the people with whom we work, with the grocery store men, with the people we see every day and with friends.

If we lay the groundwork along these lines, it is not so difficult to get people to sign petitions, to speak up in their church groups, to write to their Congressmen. The American people at large are concerned, deeply concerned. The time was never more ripe for conscientious people to go to work.

Barbara Anderson

Turn the mule around

CHICAGO, ILL.

When I was a boy down on our Indiana farm, we owned a Missouri mule. One day I decided to hitch him up and go to town for some groceries. Everything went well until he decided to take a wrong road which led to a dead end.

No amount of persuasion—kind, reasonable or otherwise — could make this Missouri mule change his mind. Finally, with assistance from a couple of neighbors, we got him unhitched and turned him around.

There seems to be a similarity between this Missouri mule and the Missourian now occupying the White House. Now the question is: can the American people get him turned around in time to avert the crash-bang that is sure to come if he persists down the dead-end road along which he now has us all headed?

Mandel A. Terman

Mandel Terman, Chicago peace leader and Progressive Party mainstay, has been ill in a hospital for five weeks. He would like to hear from his friends. Address him at his home: 674 Irving Park Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

Catholicism and peace

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Recently Frederic Joliot-Curie, president of the World Council of Peace, sent a letter to Pope Pius XII urging him to support certain proposals adopted at the Peace Congress held in Warsaw last fall. The proposals were: 1) Prohibition of atomic and bacteriological means of mass destruction; and 2) Denunciation as a war criminal of the first government to use these weapons. The cordial reply told of the desire and advocacy of peace by the Vatican and concluded: "And one can only wish that these efforts will meet everywhere, both from governments and from the peoples and in sincere individual consciences, with understanding and support."

The predominantly Catholic people in Europe support the World Peace Council—the Vatican cannot help respect that fact. It would be well if it required its subordinates to follow this policy. The words would also be more meaningful if the threat of excommunication were applied to the warmongers and profiteers.

Philip Murray and James Carey of the CIO, who capitalize on their Catholicism for factional purposes in the union, fail even to mention the Pope's peace plea. If the atomic scientist, Communist Joliot-Curie, and Pope Pius XII can find common ground for peace, they why can't Catholic labor leaders? Apparently they make use of their religion only when it serves the Wall Street masters.

Casimir T. Nowacki

"Impeachment" hypocrisy

SCAPPOOSE, ORE.

In his speeches Sen. Taft declared bluntly that Truman got us into this war illegally and without the sanction of Congress. In other words, the President had committed a crime against both the American and the Korean people, and made himself liable to impeachment and criminal prosecution. This being the case, the way to undo the wrong is to pull our army out of Korea and make amends for the damage we have done there as far as is humanly possible.

However, Taft is not at all interested in righting Truman's wrongs or in the establishment of peace. He is jubilant that the Democratic regime got us into this profoundly unpopular war, thus giving the Republicans an ideal opportunity to annihilate the Democrats at the next elections.

The talk about impeaching Truman is insincere because Congress had eagerly approved and financed the Truman war, acting as a full-fledged accomplice.

Vincent Noga

Literary Gazette, Moscow

The knave of $ $

Ammunition

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Tabitha Petran's article on the Soviet Union's stand on war was wonderful—a factual, documented article to be used as ammunition. You have a wonderful paper. I've sent in $5 for a pack of five papers to be distributed—and hope to have more orders for you.

R. Reuben

The sacred Trumans?

BERGEN, N. D.

We have heard on the radio recently about Truman saving five punches for persons who have insulted his family. In his own words he says: "My family is sacred to me." That is as it should be. But how about the other millions of American citizens? Aren't their families sacred to them? He does not hesitate to break up their homes by sending their boys away to kill and be killed.

Lucille Olson

Unfit is understatement

GREELEY, COLO.

Today I heard a GUARDIAN reader say: "We read of the high rate of psychiatric casualties among our GIs—but hear nothing of such casualties among our top-ranking officers. Is it possible that these go unrecorded—even undetected? If so, we may be suffering right now from nervously unfit leadership. Some of our officials may be neuropsychiatric cases."

Louise Gauso

Men, horses and profits

ELCHO, WISC.

Frank Edwards, sponsored by AFL on Monday to Friday nights at 9:00 C.S.T., is one of the few honest commentators on the air. What he doesn't know about the Republic of China and Korea, however, would fill the kitchen sink and he seems to gloat over the massive killing of their soldiers — the more the merrier for this sane (?) land of Free Enterprise.

During the explosive days following the firing of MacArthur, he, Frank Edwards, propounded this question to his listeners: "Should we invade the mainland of China?" I answered: "NO"—I'm not awed by a general who has spent 47 years of his life in the art of torturing and mangling human beings, as tho man flesh was most akin to horse flesh. Get the boys home from Korea, Europe, and every other sequestered nook in the world, and see (for sure) that Congress passes a law conscripting EVERY capitalist that has foreign investments—and there won't be any more talk of war. Let's put the blame for ALL wars where it belongs—in the cesspool of HUGE PROFITS.

W. A. Maertz

5-week plan

KEYSPORT, N. J.

Sending $5 to pay for this week's 50 copies of the GUARDIAN and an additional four weeks. We are working on a plan to increase circulation and if we are successful with our 5-week plan we will continue. Here's hoping we can do our share to keep our paper going.

Wm. M. Frost

Remember Bataan

COSTA MESA, CALIF.

Recently I was in a dentist's office where a husky blonde man was waiting for an extraction across from someone who held a magazine with a picture of MacArthur on the back cover. The man looked at the picture and exploded. He saw me smile in agreement. "She understands," he said. When he left he said: "You might wonder why I feel this way. I was on Bataan."

Elizabeth Loeser

"Honorable" slaughter

BERGEN, N. DAK.

A copy of your paper was sent us by a minister; we are grateful to him for introducing your amazing publication to us. To read the majority of papers and magazines today, one is supposed to believe that peace is subversive! We are to throw away all decency, morals, all the finer things of life preached in schools and churches since the beginning of such institutions, and suddenly decide that mass slaughter for no apparent cause is the honorable, upright thing to do.

One issue of a paper like yours is enough to bring one to full realization of the horror into which the warmongers would plunge us all if they could. They have produced enough horror in Korea already to make us writhe in guilty awareness that we have raised no voice to stop them. And stop them we must! Each day of inactivity on our part causes that shocking mountain of corpses to grow unbelievably.

Thank you for the great work you are doing for all of us.

Mrs. Francis Holte

A sisterly act

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

My sister and I have $10 to give away, so we decided to send it to you. I wish I had more as it is very important for the GUARDIAN to keep up its good work.

Rose and Sarah

A word to gentlemen

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.

Reading in GUARDIAN something of the progress of the Patterson contempt case (of which I have seen nothing in our local monopolist newspapers), I note that Lanham of Georgia apologized to the Negro for referring to his color; then proceeded to insult the rest of the men of the South by saying he had behaved "as any other Southern man would." I hereby call upon all Southern men who are gentlemen to write letters putting "the Gentleman from Georgia" in his place. Letters should be addressed, "Hon. (or Dishon.?) Henderson Lanham, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C." Any grade school band kid can tell him that "D.C." means "go back": in this case the destination of Rome, Georgia, is indicated.

Leon McDuff

She got tough back

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Enclosed, $1 to help keep the GUARDIAN coming.

I was going to send this anyway, but the reason it gets off tonight is the disgraceful action of the Supreme Court in upholding the conviction of the 11 Communist Party leaders and the attorneys who defended them.

As a San Franciscan, I am particularly outraged by the refusal of the Court to reverse the conviction of Vincent Hallinan, sentenced for contempt in the citizenship trial of Harry Bridges.

Get tough, will they? This is my answer, and I wish I could multiply it many times.

Rachel Fossett

REPORT TO READERS

Wanted: winter soldiers for the summer crisis

THIS weekend in Chicago, thousands of Americans are gathering from every corner of the country—as they did for the momentous Progressive Party Founding Convention of 1948—to trade experiences in the unending campaign for peace, to agree on a program for the future, then to return home to mobilize community action through broad Peace Councils.

It is as certain as Sunday that, whenever delegates may return to organize neighborhood councils for peace, they will find a core of GUARDIAN readers eager to pitch in. And in thousands of neighborhoods unrepresented in Chicago's American People's Congress, GUARDIAN readers will readily take up the job all by themselves. They will learn the details, despite the press-radio blackout on peace news, through the GUARDIAN; and they will act—as they did to save the Trenton Six, as they have for every worthy cause we have been able to place before them.

WE of the GUARDIAN can conceive of no more urgent summertime occupation than mobilization of the decent, thinking people of our country for peace. For ourselves, we exist for no other purpose than to provide the facts essential to demonstrating to people everywhere that peace is attainable—now.

As the GUARDIAN readers constitute an existing, informed force for peace in virtually every community of the nation, so does the GUARDIAN stand as the only nationwide publication regularly providing the facts essential to winning peace.

We place our publication at the service of the peoples of every American community organizing for peace. We will carry the news of such organization regularly to each of the 4,000 cities, communities and RFD routes reached by the GUARDIAN. We will urge our readers to cooperate in every area where Peace Councils may be formed.

And we will continue to provide the information without which no American can hope to remain inoculated against the poison-gas attack on the American mind carried on day after day by the commercial press and radio of our country.

WE urge that, wherever organization for peace takes place, this informaiton be provided regularly — through the GUARDIAN; else this mobilization may fade away, as others before it have, for lack of plain, simple facts to bolster the courage and conviction of people inundated daily, weekly and monthly by the demagoguery of the warmakers.

—THE EDITORS

Two masters

"There is no defense against atomic war, and none is to be expected. The attempt to create one would destroy our social fabric, make us slaves to a military machine. . . . You cannot serve two masters—you cannot prepare for war and expect to have peace."

—Albert Einstein

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THE IMPACT OF THE WAR ON KOREA—NORTH AND SOUTH

3,000,000 dead, a nation in ruins, a bitter people

By Elmer Bendiner

KOREA's long agony began in 1910 when Japan declared her a colony of the Mikado's, destroyed or limited her industry, suppressed her people, drove underground her language, her traditions and her patriots.

There were two false dawns in the long Korean night that followed.

In the spring of 1919, moved by President Wilson's proclamations of democratic victory, Koreans proclaimed their own independence, poured into the streets shouting "Mansei," "Live a thousand years." The Japanese in the weeks that followed killed 7,000, wounded 40,000, arrested 50,000.

TWO GREETINGS: In August, 1945, another war ended amid declarations of universal freedom. The Japanese Empire had been shattered. The commander of the Soviet forces entering from the north had declared:

> "Citizens of Korea! Your country is now free. But this is only the first page in the history of Korea. . . . Remember that happiness lies in your hands! You now have your freedom. Everything now depends upon you, yourselves. The Soviet Army has created the conditions to enable the Korean people to embark upon free creative work. You, yourselves, must become the creators of your own happiness."

In September, 1945, Gen. MacArthur, commanding the U. S. forces of liberation in the south, gave this message:

> "The entire administrative power on the territory of Korea, south of Parallel 38, is under my jurisdiction. The population should unreservedly obey the orders issued over my signature. Those acting against the occupation troops or violating order and tranquillity will be mercilessly and severely punished. For the period of the military occupation, English is introduced as the official language."

South of the 38th

THE Parallel became a wall—and authoritative observers thus described what happened south of that wall.

Law and order were maintained by Col. William Maglin, American chief of the Korean police, who told newsmen:

> "Many people question the wisdom of keeping men trained by the Japanese. But many people are born policemen. We felt that if they did a good job for the Japanese, they would do a good job for us. It would be unfair to drive men trained by the Japanese out of the force."

In September, 1949, the N. Y. **Times** counted 36,000—16,000 beyond jail capacities—in the care of these jailers. Louise Yim, Commerce Minister under Syngman Rhee who was brought back as South Korean President after 40 years of U. S. residence, said in an interview in New York:

> "Oh, they're not communists. . . . They were thrown into jail to prevent them from having contact with the North and with the communists."

In October, 1946, a U. S. officer in Korea told writer Mark Gayn:

> "I saw cops crack men's shins against sharp-edged wooden blocks. I saw cops put burning wooden slivers under men's nails. I saw more men than I care to remember get the water treatment. . . . I saw cops beat a man . . . and then hang him on a metal hook under his shoulder blades."

"Torture appears to be an accepted practice," wrote Walter Sullivan in the N. Y. **Times** of Jan. 31, 1950. Bob Klonsky, former editor of **Korea Graphic**, official U. S. Army publication, wrote:

> I personally saw the prison cells built in the basement of Rhee's palatial home. With the full knowledge of AMG officials he kept kidnaped trade union leaders in these cells and held them for ransom to finance his terror organization.

SLAVERY PROLONGED: Two impartial eye-witnesses summed up:

> The American Army arrives there to liberate an ancient people from the Japanese, and the commander of our army [Gen. Hodge] does his best to insult the people and prolong their slavery to a hated enemy. (WILLIAM SHIRER, N. Y. Herald Tribune, Sept. 16, 1945.)
>
> . . . A police system of men trained in the tough Japanese methods, whose only concept of political opposition was to suppress it. Thus we became a party to a police state in which the main items on the daily U. S. reports to intelligence were headed, "Terrorism." (ROGER BALDWIN, chairman, American Civil Liberties Union.)

CHEAP "ASSETS": Labor south of the Parallel was widely advertised by Harold Lady, Rhee's U. S. economic adviser, who told the Chicago **Daily News:**

> "People overlook one of Korea's greatest assets. It has the cheapest labor force in the world. If I have anything to say about it, it's going to stay that way."

Stanley Earl, CIO official and U. S. labor consultant, quietly understated the fate of South Korean labor:

> "It took over four times the amount of money that could be made by a Korean to buy one item—rice. And as the people became hungry, and as nothing was done by the government of Korea, then I think that probably our prestige went down because we were supporting that government with dollars."

TORTURED "DEMOCRACY": This was how the U. S. educated South Koreans. At Seoul University in 1945 the American Military Government installed as dean of the law and philosophical faculty Pak Nak-chun, for 35 years a Japanese collaborator. He told students:

> "We are living in a period in which the country needs a strong dictator. That goes for the university, too."

The AMG took over some of the university buildings, burned books and manuscripts for fuel in the winter. When students protested in May, 1947, 5,700 were arrested, 400 teachers were beaten and jailed. Correspondent Hugh Deane wrote:

> The new textbooks tell of democracy; but they are not as eloquent as the cries of a professor of mathematics at the Seoul University, tortured in prison to obtain a confession of subversive intent.

The number of primary and secondary schools declined; many school buildings were turned into barracks and dance halls.

North of the 38th

ACROSS the Parallel, according to Prof. George M. McCune (N. Y. Times of Oct. 27, 1947), "Koreans were participating actively in their own government."

KOREA TODAY
Where is my home?

That government purged pro-Japanese collaborators out of office, confiscated their land and gave it to poor farmers, irrigated dry areas, reduced taxes, rebuilt factories, greatly expanded the school system.

Dr. Kim Kiu-sik, picked for his conservative views to head the AMG Interim Legislative Assembly, said:

> "Unlike the Americans who are always discussing which candidates to support and who are always interfering in every little thing, the Russians never appointed or even discussed a single governing official in North Korea nor have they ever discussed the merits of any proposed law. They firmly took the position that these things were the Koreans' own affair."

More directly, Houston W. Meade of the AMG staff said:

EVER SEE A CITY DIE?
"The clay walls fell . . . the wood flamed . . . the people died . . ."

> "The Russians didn't call them 'gooks.' They treated them as human beings. The Russians didn't make communists out of the Koreans. The Japanese did—and we did."

SIGNS OF FREEDOM: Britain's **Manchester Guardian** (Aug. 3, 1950) told the story of labor north of the Parallel:

> A labor law . . . guaranteed Korean workmen an eight-hour day, the right to free medical attention and to paid holidays. . . . If the countries had continued to live in peace, the North would have outstripped the potentialities of the South.

John M. Washburn, interpreter of Russian with the U. S. Army in Korea, reported on education in the June, 1947 issue of **Pacific Affairs:**

> During the Soviet occupation a cultural renaissance has been taking place in Northern Korea. A program of universal primary education was prepared in the fall of 1946. Many schools, both for children and adults, have been opened. Theatres were built and many theatrical troupes organized.

How war came

WAR came to the region of the Parallel not suddenly but gradually. Border raids grew ever more frequent, larger, more ambitious. From January to September, 1949, North Korea reported 120 civilians killed, 87 wounded, 1,340 kidnaped; 503 homes burned, 56 destroyed in other ways; 303 head of cattle, 3,518 hogs plundered. T. P. Brinton (**New Republic**, Mar. 1, 1949) commented:

> Despite these disturbances and frequent clashes across the 38th Parallel, Gen. Kim Il Sung and his North Korean advisers have not advanced.

U. S. General Roberts, commanding in South Korea, said "all the attacks on South Korea are reprisals and almost every incident has been provoked by South Korean security forces."

On March 14, 1950, Walter Sullivan reported in the N. Y. **Times** that 13 members of the South Korean Assembly had been sentenced to from 1½ to 10 years in prison and that among the charges against them was: "Opposing invasion of North Korea."

GREEN LIGHT: The N. Y. **Herald Tribune** on Nov. 1, 1949, reported:

> Shin Sung Mo, South Korean Defense Minister, said today that his army is ready and waiting to invade communist North Korea but had been restrained by American officials.

On June 19, 1950, Washington's **John Foster Dulles** told a warlike meeting of the South Korean National Assembly: "The eyes of the free world are upon you. Compromise with communism would be a road leading to disaster." He declared "the readiness of the U.S.A. to give all necessary moral and material support to South Korea which is fighting against communism." On June 21, 1950, Dulles said:

> "Korea does not stand alone. My talks with Gen. MacArthur will be followed by positive action."

On June 25 the world was told North Korea had invaded South Korea. North Korea—almost unheard—said the opposite occurred and the final positive action was heavy bombardment of Bek Sung county in North Korea in the early hours of June 24. The N. Y. **Daily News** (June 26) reported South Korean troops several miles inside North Korea.

The war followed. According to South Korean ambassador to Washington You Chan Yang, 3,000,000 civilians alone have been killed or wounded.

DIE, FIGHT OR FLEE: The U. S. Air Force had complete mastery of the air. The missions from Tokyo were classed as "milk runs." **AP's** Hal Boyle thus described the bombing of Sinuiju:

> Ever see a city die? . . . Flight by flight the bombers let go. Step by step the city below was destroyed. The clay walls fell apart in the heat. The straw roofs burned. The wood flamed. And the people died or fled.

On the ground Syngman Rhee conducted a blood bath while U. S. officials gave silent sanction. Lt. Roger Snodgrass told the **Daily Oklahoman**, Oct. 20, 1950, that his unit had been disturbed by a "terrific odor". They explored a nearby cave and found the bodies of "three to five hundred Koreans." He explained:

> "We found that when the war started the South Koreans had gathered all communists they could find and shot them."

Even those in the South Korean army suffered from the corruption and terror. On June 12, 1951, Sun Min Ho, chairman of the Korean National Assembly's Interior Affairs and Security Committee, reported that more than 50,000 drafted South Koreans had died of starvation and disease in training camps since last December.

THREE VIEWS: The GI's point of view was summed up by Bob Considine in the Philadelphia **Inquirer** of Aug. 22, 1950, when he wrote that "you feel as the Nazis must have felt when they walked over countries."

A Wall St. view was given by economist Roger Babson in the N. Y. **Times** of Oct. 3, 1950, when he wrote:

> If it hadn't been for the Korean war which has given business and employment a shot in the arm, this bubble would be bursting now.

The victims' view is contained in a well-documented pamphlet entitled **Students and the War in Korea**, published by the Intl. Union of Students in Prague. It contains this charge:

For every Korean man tortured to death, for every Korean woman violated, for every Korean child murdered, the government of the United States—and those governments who took it upon themselves to participate jointly in the intervention—bear the guilt and responsibility for crime against the Korean people.

THE IMPACT OF THE KOREAN WAR ON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Prices, profits, taxes at a dizzy peak—worst yet to come

TWO wars broke out on June 25, 1950—both undeclared. In Korea, Truman, Acheson and MacArthur led the U. S. into the "most terrible slaughter in history" (MacArthur). At home, a war of attrition was launched against the living standards of the American people.

Today the American family is caught in a pincers movement. Higher prices and taxes take a bigger bite out of its income; its income is being frozen; war spending is cutting its housing, health, welfare. The President says the worst is yet to come. In one year of war:

● **Manufacturing workers suffered the equivalent of a $4.46 weekly pay cut owing to rising prices.**

The factory worker's money wages, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported, rose $5.37 a week between June, 1950, and April, 1951. Prices he had to pay, added BLS, went up about as much—9%—so officially he came out at best a few cents ahead.

But actual price increases are twice what the official index shows. The President himself gave this away when he pointed out recently that the cost of goods bought by the military has jumped more than 25% in a year. Defense Secy. Marshall said meat prices for the Army had gone up 31% —and the Army gets it wholesale.

The fact is that in the period when manufacturing wages rose 9%, prices have risen 18 to 20% —leaving the worker not $5.37 ahead but $4.46 behind. But the factory worker is comparatively fortunate: workers in construction, in non-arms factories, in retail trade, received few dollar increases. Teachers, pensioners, others on fixed incomes have suffered a 15% or more cut in real income—what their dollar can buy—due to price rises. For instance, a $50-a-week worker who got no increase suffered the equivalent of a $7.50 a week pay cut.

This inflationary attack on living standards came when, even before Korea, 75% of American families had incomes less than the minimum amount for healthful living. Sixty per cent of Negro families had incomes of less than $2,000 a year.

One-third of all families had no savings.

● **The average worker's taxes rose 20%, will rise another 12½% in September.**

A single worker earning $3,000 a year paid $409 in taxes before Korea, $488 after Korea, and will pay $549 beginning in September. For a married worker with no children the figures are $299, $360, $405. Excise taxes—really sales taxes—which fall heaviest on the average consumer were boosted on most items, and are going even higher.

● **Average spendable income fell by $105 or more per person.**

Drawing by Fred Wright

Per capita disposable income (what the average consumer had to spend after taxes) fell by about $105 a year in real terms. That means a family of four on an average had about $420 less to spend—as a result of higher prices and taxes. As a result, one business man said, "there are no customers."

● **Profits rose from $37,000,000,000 to $51,000,000,000.**

Reaching an all-time high in 1950, profits in the second quarter of that year were at an annual rate of $37,000,000,000. By the first quarter of 1951 they had risen to an annual rate of $51,000,000,000 —a rise of 38%. In some armaments sectors of the economy profits jumped as much as 100 and 200%.

Corporation executives gave themselves these raises while the average raise was 9%: Wilson of GM—$586,100 in 1949, $40,000 more in 1950; Greenwalt of DuPont—$438,550 raised by $100,000; Grace of Bethlehem Steel—$333,996 raised by $130,000. James H. Rand of Remington Rand took down $139,578 in "wages," and seven top officers of GM got over $400,000 each in 1950. (These "wages" lifted the general average a little.)

● **War spending rose from $12,500,000,000 before Korea to more than $30,000,000,000 and is going to $60,000,000,000—or $400 for every American.**

Total output of the economy rose from $272,000,000,000 before Korea to $314,000,000,000 in the first quarter of 1951. That's a 15% increase in dollar terms. But they are inflated dollars—inflated by more than the 15% rise.

Government spending rose from a rate of $40,000,000,000 to a rate of $53,000,000,000—and is rising even further. But while spending for "national defense" doubled, government spending on all other services is falling off and will fall more.

No controls on bombers

The nation needs 5,000,000 new homes, thousands of new schools, over 1,000,000 hospital beds. But the government low-cost housing program has been cut to a trickle—it means a drop of 55,000 housing units in New York alone. The "liberal" Sen. Douglas (D-Ill.), Presidential aspirant, has led the way in slashing even government spending for cancer, tuberculosis and heart-disease research. The $16,000,000 the government spent last year on cancer research was less than the cost of a flight group of bombers.

Although industrial production rose by about 12% during the year, this was mostly in arms manufacture. Residential housing dropped off from 144,300 units in May, 1950, to 88,000 in April, 1951—40%—and is falling off more as credit and materials restrictions begin to pinch.

There were more jobs—about 1,500,000 more in May, 1951, than May, 1950. But there were more part-time jobs and layoffs due to plant changeovers from civilian to war production — about 2,000,000.

Proprietors' and farm income rose $7,000,000,000; compensation of employes about $22,000,000,000 (including fancy executive salaries); profits, $14,000,000,000. Profits rose two and a half times as fast as compensation for employes. Despite the dollar increase in personal income, higher taxes and prices forced consumers to dip into savings.

Legalized robbery

Big business, Republicans and Democrats, define inflation as too much money in the consumers' pockets. Their "anti-inflation" program is to take it away by higher taxes and higher prices.

Actually, they want inflation, fear price cuts and deflation. They encourage shortages to boost prices; put on "ceilings" that raise them, as in last week's order on clothing; keep food and rent (60% of the average worker's cost of living) free of controls; put no limit on prices of armaments, some of which have gone up 400%, according to Sen. Maybank. Their control program is designed to guarantee higher prices and profits.

President Truman says next year will be worse. He's right. The impact of armament spending has yet to be felt. The biggest price increase, according to the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, took place **before** enormous government spending

Farmers Union Herald

for arms really set in. It was a speculative, profiteering increase in prices. While prices rise, under the impact of war spending, and because of deliberate policy and inadequate controls, profits will go up, and wages for workers will be more effectively controlled. Taxes for consumers will go up. Welfare will be cut. There will be more shortages, black markets.

And after that? Big business fears peace will bring economic collapse. But only peace can provide the basis for a decent economy dedicated not to profits and the accumulation of more power and markets but to raising living standards for the people.

FARM

Farmers Union fights red-baiters and wins

LAST SEPT. 7 Sen. Styles Bridges (R-N.H.) on the floor of the Senate delivered a virulent attack on the National Farmers Union, charged it was under communist influence. Bridges once was secretary of the New Hampshire Farm Bureau Federation and treasurer of its Mutual Automobile Insurance Co. The Farm Bureau, representing big business agriculture, is a traditional enemy of the progressive Farmers Union.

During the 1950 election campaign the Utah Farm Bureau circulated pamphlets charging "communist domination" of the Farmers Union, which filed a libel suit for $25,000. The Farm Bureau called a witness named Robert Cruise McManus, a writer, who has made a career of attacking the FU. (A typical article is entitled, "Communist Beachhead in Agriculture" in Joe (Sun Oil) Pew's **Farm Journal**; others appeared in Alfred (China Lobby) Kohlberg's **Freeman** magazine.) He admitted he was the author of Bridges' speech.

The judge ruled that the charge, "communist-dominated," is libelous if used against an organization not so dominated. The jury fixed damages at $25,000 for the FU.

A FULL PAGE: In Montana a rural newspaper accepted an ad during the election campaign charging that a senator and a representative running for re-election, together with the state

leaders of the FU, were in league with ". . . a socialistic-communistic element. . . ." Recently the newspaper published a full-page apology for the advertisement. (Both smeared candidates were re-elected.)

In Texas the Cleburne Post, American Legion, circulated a pamphlet entitled **How You Can Fight Communism.** It listed the Farmers Union as a "communist front." In copies mailed to farmers that assertion was underlined, and it was claimed the pamphlet had been prepared by the FBI. Texas Farmers Union leaders went to work; recently the post commander made a public retraction, revealed the pamphlet came from the Americanism Commission of the Legion.

THE KOREAN WAR AND OUR 'ALLIES'

USA's newest colony: Western Europe

By Tabitha Petran

AS the Korean war closes its first year, how fares the economic health of Western Europe? The answers can be found in the UN Economic Commission for Europe's **Economic Survey** issued last month. From the **Survey**, these facts plainly emerge:

- West Europe has become a U.S. colony, whose economies and politics depend on Washington decisions.
- Its post-World War movement toward socialism having been halted by U.S. funds and intervention, West Europe is now experiencing a runaway inflation set off by the Atlantic Pact and post-Korea arms program.
- First stage of this inflation is slashing of West Europe's living standards, which before Korea had yet to regain even low pre-war levels.

Colonial Europe

Instead of substantially building trade with the East, as an earlier UN Economic Report said must be done, West Europe imported 15% **less** from the East in 1950 (only 5% of total imports). Its national industries have been distorted by Marshall Plan dumping. The **Survey** documents, without noting its causes, West Europe's growing dependence on the U.S. for operation of its economy: the 1949 recession "weakened markets and retarded the increase in production of all materials"; the 1950 U.S. arms boom transmitted high U.S. export prices into the price levels of West Europe and its colonies, and inflated the U.S. share in world consumption of raw materials.

By hogging raw materials (stockpiling them, speculating on expected military spending) the U.S. has sent their price up 80% since Korea and brought about such a shortage as to threaten shutting down of segments of West Europe's economy. While failing, under U.S. direction, to develop its own resources—its production of coal, sulphur, timber, iron ore "has fallen considerably" compared with pre-war—West Europe has had a shotgun divorce from its normal sources in the East.

BEHIND THE CURTAIN: Yet East Europe and the U.S.S.R. have become increasingly self-sufficient in basic materials and mutual trade, the **Survey** shows. Formerly dependent on the U.S. and Italy for sulphur, they now supply all their own needs; their own production of tin, copper, zinc and aluminum has substantially grown; and they are almost self-sufficient in cotton, whereas West Europe gets half its cotton from the U.S., 80% of its wool from overseas.

West Europe's response to economic fluctuations in the U.S. presents a typical picture of the colonial relationship. A U.S. recession produces a West European trade and industrial recession. A U.S. boom produces a West European inflation.

The drive against socialism

In 1945 the need for basic overhauling of West European economy was generally recognized. It was implicit in the Potsdam and Yalta decisions. It topped the post-war program of every resistance movement. Common sense pointed the way toward socialism.

But Washington had a different idea, as reported by the Chicago **Sun-Times'** Thomas Reynolds on Aug. 4, 1947, during development of the Marshall Plan:

> **The U.S.A. is about to stop the clock on socialization in Europe and shape the post-war Continent in the old familiar economic patterns.**

INFLATION DOESN'T LEAVE MUCH
A little French girl looks into the future

Washington used economic leverage to oust parties dedicated to socialism from West European governments. Through the Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, Atlantic Pact and, finally, accelerated rearmament, it sought to shore up tottering capitalism.

SICK, SICKER . . . : Documenting again the need for basic reconstruction, the **UN Survey** divides West European countries into two groups: (1) France, Italy, Belgium, Southwest Europe; (2) Britain, Scandinavia, Netherlands. The first group are the long-sick economies which have not yet regained 1929 (France, Belgium) or 1939 (Italy) production levels. All have unemployment, open or hidden, and idle industrial capacity (Italy's tractor factories, 60% idle; cement industry, 65%; fertilizer industry, 50%; unemployment, 4,000,000—20% of the working population). Countries in the second group have kept their economies going on a basis of low-wage, austerity conditions which "labor statesmen" have helped impose.

How to rehabilitate them and improve their living standards? Both groups, say the UN economists, need a huge investment program (in Italy, fulfilment of such a program would require "some interference with existing private interests"). But both groups, says common sense, need above all to decide for themselves how to rebuild without Washington dictation, which keeps the southern group from achieving pre-war industrial output levels and both from achieving 1934-38 agricultural output levels.

The Marshall Plan, according to its Administrator Paul Hoffmann, set "ceilings on living standards" which (said ECA testimony before Congress) were "well beolw pre-war." In Paris, in 1948, one ECA report noted, real wages were **50%** below pre-war. Documenting these low living standards in some detail, the **UN Survey** speaks on the other hand of "rising living standards" in East Europe and continued industrial expansion "at a fast rate."

Inflation

No West European country escaped the post-Korea inflation; none, according to UN's economists, has much chance of mastering it. Beginning in September, 1949, with currency devaluation, the rise in West Europe's import and wholesale prices was 15 to 20% by a year later, with retail prices lagging but also starting up. After September, 1950, the price rise "increased in violence and scope," with wholesale and import prices going up 3 to 4% a month, retail prices 1 to 2%. (By May, 1951, the French government **put** the retail price rise at 4% a month).

Even if wholesale and import prices don't rise further, the **Survey** explains why further retail rises are inevitable, "in some cases greater than those which have already occurred." This inflation is here "although the rise in defense expenditure is still largely in the futuure." The "moderate" increase in arms spending in 1950 has already produced an 8 to 12% deterioration in the terms of trade. The arms program comes at a time when the volume of resources available for consumption and investment could be expected to rise moderately at best. This means, in some countries, "an absolute reduction in living standards."

How can West Europe master its inflation problem? Only by increasing its own production, restoring balanced trade with the rest of the world, spending less on arms, getting cheaper materials. But all these are blocked by Washington.

The political crisis

The UN **Survey** gives the bread-and-butter facts explaining the political crisis in West Europe. Effect of Washington policy has been to raise profits, help reaction, lower workers' living standards. Class antagonisms are sharpened; workers are restive under repression; U.S. troops sent to Europe under the Atlantic Pact are expected to act as a police force to keep them in hand.

This month's French and Italian elections show that all of Washington's horses, men and millions have not even begun to "cure" them of the socialist aims with which they emerged from World War II. In Italy the parties with a concrete socialist program—Communists and Left Socialists—increased their vote; in France, once again considerably more people voted for Communists to represent them than for candidates of any other party. It has become clear that even stronger and less democratic methods than bribery and shameless election gerrymandering are called for.

In Britain, broadening rejection of Washington's war "solution" and demand for a policy reflecting real national interests are reflected in the Labour Party split, dramatized in the resignation of two top cabinet ministers. The people still want the socialism for which they voted in 1945, not the fascism with which Washington is conducting a proxy flirtation in their behalf.

IT CANNOT STAND: What common sense concludes from the UN **Survey** is that in West Europe capitalist economy is in final decay. The economic foundations of reaction are weaker; the people are therefore stronger, the difficulties of imposing on them what was imposed on Germany in 1933 far greater.

Deepening economic crisis will produce ever sharper political crisis, perhaps even civil war. But the Atlantic Pact structure for united action by "the West" against socialism is clearly built on sand.

LABOR

Ford local invites Lewis; Reuther sulks

IN April, 1941, Henry Ford bowed to the striking power of his workers, granted all demands, including the union shop. That victory after a 10-day strike at River Rouge established Ford Local 600 UAW-CIO as the largest local in the country, one of the toughest and most militant.

It has since grown too tough, too militant for UAW president Walter Reuther's machine. It has stood up for wage increases, no compromise with the stabilizers, peace, an end to machine rule in the union and no rise in dues. Two months ago the members elected an anti-Reuther, progressive slate of officers. They also elected as president Carl Stellato, hitherto a Reuther man.

RSVP: Last week-end Local 600 celebrated the 10th anniversary of its victory at River Rouge. Local officers followed protocol by inviting Reuther, CIO president Philip Murray, and Michigan's Gov. G. Mennen Williams; then irritated CIO officials with invitations to AFL's Detroit president Frank X. Martel and John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers.

The bid to Lewis was a bid for labor unity as well as a tribute to a man who had done much to organize UAW in its early days. The chairman of the anniversary committee, a Reuther man, resigned. The Governor had a previous engagement. Murray failed to reply. Martel and Lewis accepted promptly. Reuther denounced the rally as "political manipulation" and urged all CIO people to boycott it. Stellato commented:

> **"Reuther and the international are fighting us. We are not fighting them. The real reason Reuther won't show up June 23 is because he can't defend the dollar raise in dues to the 50,000 Ford workers who will attend the meeting, because they get nothing from the international in return for their money."**

SPIRIT OF '41: The local officers in their statement pointed to wider differences with the Reuther machine:

> **"This celebration by the Ford workers is nothing more nor less than an opportunity for all of us in labor to celebrate the terrific victory which was ours in 1941, when the Ford Motor Co., the last major industrial giant, went down to defeat before the strength of organized workers. The same spirit that prevailed then, if reiterated now and approached with a sincere desire for the unity of all labor to fight for a solution of these problems (inflation, speedup and runaway shops), could result only in victory."**

That was the setting for John L. Lewis' first major labor address since he bowed out of CIO.

FIND THE ENEMY: Of the mobilization program, Lewis warned:

> **"Building up our armed forces here and in Europe is the only thing that stopped the greatest depression in the history of the U.S. . . . Defense Mobilizer Wilson says we'll be ready to fight Russia in 1953. But what if Russia doesn't want to fight us, whom is he going to fight? We'll be all dressed up and no place to go. The munitions and arms will already be there and arms production will stop."**
>
> **Of the Reuther-type leadership: "These profoundly intellectual union leaders should stop dreaming dreams and pay attention to the bread-and-butter needs of their members."**
>
> **The big job: "Unification of labor policies and labor leadership."**

His one proposal: a $50,000,000 trust fund raised by CIO, AFL and United Mineworkers to combat management efforts to whittle down labor's gains.

THE KOREAN WAR AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The Oriental revolt against the West and what it means for the hope of peace

By Ali Hassan
Special to the Guardian

IF you were born anywhere from Casablanca to Dairen, you would see the Korean action from only one angle, regardless of your degree of literacy and your opinions. You would see it as another imperialist adventure of the Occident against an Oriental nation, with Oriental people as guinea pigs for the weapons of future wars. Napalm bombs are being dropped on Koreans just as the atom bomb was tried out on the Japanese. These people remember that atom bombs were never tested on the main European enemies of World War II—the Germans.

Most of the Oriental nations which are UN members have bitterly fought the British, French and Dutch in the past. Others, still under colonial rule, are now fighting members of UN. Some of the Oriental UN members are considered backward and "underdeveloped." For their technical and economic progress they depend on the same Occidentals who exploited them backward for centuries. But despite their dependence, these nations revolted openly against the West at UN in the months following the Korean outbreak. It was a spectacular revolt; it showed the world—and especially America—that not only socialist nations could disagree with the West.

DARING DOZEN: Twelve nations were directly involved in these developments: Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen. In the Fifth UN Assembly in September, 1950, most of them called openly for an end to the Cold War. But the real fun began when Egypt on June 30 declared she would not vote for the sanctions resolution against North Korea, passed on June 27 by the Security Council. Both Egypt and India had abstained in the Council on the 27th, awaiting instructions from home. When instructions arrived India announced she would "support" the resolution.

Shankar's Weekly, New Delhi, India
"The best resolutions I have ever tasted."

Fawzi Bey of Egypt said the conflict was a consequence of the Cold War: "a new phase of the serious divergences between the Western and Eastern bloc, divergences which threatened world peace and security." He said the UN had done nothing in other cases of aggression and violation of sovereignty of territories which had been brought before it. (This was a reference to Egypt's complaint against the British for keeping troops at the Suez Canal, and the resolution on internationalization of Jerusalem—voted by a majority at UN but never implemented).

FAWZI BEY & BENEGAL RAU
Times change, some people don't

OLD DAYS ARE GONE: Egypt abstained and was chided by Britain's Gladwyn Jebb. Fawzi tartly replied that "some countries cannot get reconciled to the idea that Egypt is a sovereign state." He added:

> **"We believe in peace. We have no imaginable interest whatsoever to work for anything but peace. We are not looking around for territories to conquer. We have no colonies to suffocate, to stifle and to stop from seeing light and freedom. We are not seeking any hegemony over the world."**

These words accurately expressed the feelings of all the Oriental nations.

A few weeks later India's Sir Benegal Rau, a respected and enlightened conservative, tried to block a resolution creating a new Korean Commission empowered, among other things, to "unify" Korea. The U.S. was stampeding its passage to "legalize" crossing of the 38th Parallel by Gen. MacArthur. He failed; the "unification" resolution was approved by the Assembly Oct. 7. Sir Benegal privately warned the U.S. and other delegates of the catastrophic consequences of the crossing of the Parallel.

Shortly before Oct. 7 India's Ambassador to Peking, Sardar Panikkar, received a phone warning from China's Premier Chou En-lai that the Chinese would fight if MacArthur's forces crossed the Parallel. This message was relayed by Sir Benegal to the UN satraps. They ignored it. Late in January, the U.S. railroaded through a resolution branding the Chinese "aggressors" for having done what they had announced they would do. Panikkar's message was never mentioned in public.

IT DIDN'T WORK: From October to January the activities of the Twelve were the most talked-about phase of the China-Korea crisis at UN. But despite earnest efforts, they failed to bring about a settlement. Their plan was for the Chinese and Americans to accept a cease-fire followed immediately by political negotiations (the disposition of Formosa, and China's admission to UN). The U.S. wanted a ceae-fire only. The Chinese wanted a cease-fire included in the general framework of negotiations.

The actions of the Twelve were viewed with contempt by Americans and some other Western delegations, although the British and Canadians were sympathetic. The Eastern European group was suspicious of another Western "maneuver," but its suspicions gradually diminished. Peking was wary, but soon recognized the moves as a desire to mediate. At the end of January Peking was ready to make concessions; but by then the U.S. had launched the biggest "arm-twisting" operation in UN history for the "aggressor" resolution.

SOME PLAIN TALK: Meanwhile, in November, a Peking delegation, headed by Gen. Wu Hsiu-chuan, came to UN to discuss charges against the Americans (aggression in Formosa and bombbing of Manchuria). The results inside the committees were negative, but Wu's first speech in the Security Council made history. He opened thus:

> **"On the instructions of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I am here, in the name of the 475 million people of China, to accuse the United States Government of the unlawful and criminal act of aggression against the territory of Taiwan [Formosa]—including the Penghu Islands [Pescadores]."**

The independence and cockiness of New China delighted even the most conservative Orientals. The Chinese made it clear they would insist on their rights. One of these rights was to take their place as a permanent member of the Security Council. The branding of China as an aggressor was used as a pretext to keep it out of UN as long as possible.

The general feeling was that the U.S. was keeping China out because it was Communist. But the people of the Orient don't see it that way because there already are Communist countries in UN. They see it as an attempt by the Western bloc to deprive an Oriental nation of the only seat it holds among the Big Five. The Twelve never said these things in speeches at UN but, as the Arab proverb says: "Speech is a hypothesis, and the wise understand."

A FANCY FRAUD: During the General Assembly the U.S. pushed through the Acheson plan giving to the Assembly the security duties and powers reserved for the Security Council (particularly to vote sanctions against an aggressor). One paragraph called for earmarking of troops by UN members for UN duty.

GEN. WU HSIU-CHUAN
Instructions from 475 million

The replies from member states have begun to arrive. Their content—especially from Britain, France and the U.S.—is revealing. They say that they consider available for UN duties **those troops they have already committed for maintenance of "peace and security" in certain areas.** They cite the Atlantic Pact Forces, the forces in Korea and **the forces putting down nationalist revolutions in Indochina and Malaya.**

Two conclusions are to be drawn: (1) instead of earmarking troops for UN duty, the Western powers want to earmark the UN flag for use in their Atlantic wars in Europe; (2) the colonial powers want to fight their colonial wars under the UN flag.

DISTORTED CHARTER: The UN Charter guarantees the right of all people to self-determination. But tomorrow, under the UN resolution, any revolt of a colony may be labeled "aggression" or a "threat to the peace" and the colonial troops on the spot will become "UN forces" bent on "localizing a conflict." This is a distortion of the UN's very reason for being: the promotion of progress in every field, including political freedom, for every country in the world. It is also a sinister fraud: those very colonial powers, which provoked an uproar when the Trusteeship Committee asked them two years ago to fly the UN flag side by side with their own in their UN Trust Territories, now want to put under the UN flag their armies of repression in their colonies in the Orient.

Whether the UN accepts or rejects these dangerous implications, the fact remains that the war in Korea—and what it has provoked—is a lesson to the Orient. The Twelve, and other nations which are not members of UN, are today more hostile to the Occidentals than they were a year ago.

Latest tally in the French Election

	Popular Vote 1951	Popular Vote 1946	Percentage 1951	Percentage 1946	Parl. Seats 1951	Parl. Seats 1946
Communists	5,001,618	5,489,000	26	28.2	103	181
Gaullists	4,039,888	...	21	...	115	...
Third Force:						
Socialists	2,744,924	3,432,000	14.3	17.9	103	99
Pop. Republicans	2,225,353	5,058,000	11.6	26	81	173
Left Republicans	2,194,213	2,381,000	11.4	11.1	92	61
Independents and Peasant Party	2,472,016	2,237,000	12.9	16	99	62

Gaullists gain, Left leads French vote

REDS AND GAULLISTS LOSE, said the page one headline of the N.Y. Post. Other U.S. dailies featured similar views of the French elections. The vote tallies, generally buried or ignored, revealed these facts:

- Despite U.S. dollars, pressure and propaganda the Communist Party remains the strongest party in the country by popular vote.
- The Gaullists are the nation's second party with the largest representation in Parliament, aided by an auxiliary detachment of concealed Gaullists among nominal middle-of-the-roaders.
- The Popular Republicans, upon whom the U.S. has most relied, dropped from second to fifth place.

The U.S. State Dept. publicly expressed satisfaction but was privately dismayed. The Communist vote, 26% of the total, compared with 24.5% in the municipal elections of 1947. The French C.P. called the election a "substantial victory," claiming the vote showed a slight loss among the middle-class, gains among the working class.

Canard Enchaine, Paris
"Take this wire to MacArthur. Stop. Offer you a job as my secretary. Stop. Salutations. Stop."

LOSERS WIN: The new election law made possible results like those in the Herault district. Socialists there polled 38,821 votes, won three seats in parliament. Communists polled 71,482, won no seats.

Though the U.S. banked on the Third Force it was anything but solid. Many popular and Left Republicans are known to be secret Gaullists. Not all Socialists are happy in the pro-U.S. camp. In a show-down with De Gaulle they could follow the example of their Italian counterparts and join with the Communists.

Where does it hurt?

Two things give me pain in the . . . hip: (1) An intra-muscular mercurial diuretic infusion. (2) A jackass vaunting the glories and efficacy of our "two party system." That system came up with two beauts in 1948: Truman and Dewey! SOME SYSTEM!!! Both parties flay each other as cesspools of corruption. Beyond that, no one would care to vouch for either's truthfulness.

Missouri Mule (Elk Creek, Mo.)

THE PEOPLE SPEAK OUT AGAINST WAR

Chicago rally tops a year of tireless work for peace

ONE year and four days after the outbreak of the war in Korea—June 29—the U.S. was to have the biggest organized peace assembly in its history. At least 5,000, possibly many more, delegates from every part of the nation were expected in Chicago for a three-day American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace organized by the recently-formed American Peace Crusade which has helped to coordinate the activities of the innumerable peace groups formed during the year of war.

A group of Chicago American Legion officials sought during the week to force cancellation of the Crusade's lease for the city's huge Coliseum, but Rev. Joseph M. Evans and Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, speaking for the Illinois Peace Assembly, announced the Congress "will go on as scheduled." The two appealed to Chicagoans to protest to Mayor Kennelly after he refused to see a delegation of Congress sponsors:

> The attempt by a handful of American Legion officials to tell the owner of the Chicago Coliseum to whom he may or may not rent his hall, and to dare to apply pressure on the Mayor into denying Americans their fundamental right to assemble and speak for peace, is un-American to its very core. . . . We call on all Chicagoans to insist on the right of all views to be submitted for the people's decision. We ask them to let Mayor Kennelly know that they expect the orderly process of democracy to be maintained, and the American People's Congress to take place without interference.

DuBOIS DEFIANT: The Congress is to open Friday evening with a public rally that will feature Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, dean of Negro scholars already under indictment for his peace activities; Paul Robeson; atomic scientist Prof. Philip Morrison, and movie star Gale Sondergaard. Dr. DuBois, on a speaking tour, told a press conference in San Francisco that he will "go to jail and rot" before he will quit working for peace.

New York City was scheduled to send at least 1,000 delegates to Chicago, arranged for a special coach train to leave Penn Station Thursday, June 28, at 6:40 p.m., DST: round-trip, $45.

JOHNSON RESOLUTION: Most peace activity in preparation for the Congress centered around support for the resolution of Sen. Edwin Johnson (D-Colo.) calling for a Korean cease-fire June 25. He said if no action in the Senate was taken on it before then, he would re-introduce it without a deadline and urge a continuation of the campaign in its behalf.

Among latest organizations to back it are the annual conferences of the Methodist Church of both Oregon and Michigan, the executive board of the Rabbinical Council of America, the newly-formed Vermont Peace Conference, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

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AT the end of a year of slaughter in Korea the peoples' demand for peace was loud, clear, and compelling. Since May 17, efforts of U.S. peacemakers have been bolstered with new determination by the cease-fire resolution of Sen. Edwin Johnson (D-Colo.). Abroad the efforts have been centered on the World Peace Council's petition calling for a Big Five pact to end hot and cold wars and achieve general disarmament; at last incomplete count, more than 300,000,000 signatures had been collected.

VIOLENCE:* It has not been an easy year for the peacemakers. The war broke out as the campaign for the Stockholm Peace Appeal, demanding outlawry of atomic weapons and atomic warfare, was beginning. Washington branded the appeal "subversive," put quotation marks around the word peace itself. Newspapers, radio stations, magazines, all channels of public communication took up the clamor. Nine petition circulators were arrested in Philadelphia, charged with "breach of the peace." From Atlanta, Ga., to Flint, Mich., from Linden, N.J., to Burbank, Calif., petitioners were arrested, beaten, diven from their jobs. In Detroit there were 40 arrests in six weeks; in Milwaukee a factory worker had his back broken.

But within a month of the war's outbreak a delegation of 300 women, headed by Dr. Clementina Paolone, had appealed to UN officials; they formed a permanent organization, American Women for Peace. Other organizations came into being throughout the country. Columnist David Lawrence commented on the petition drive:

> America is losing . . . on the psychological front and there is no sign of any turn in the tide.

When the drive was officially ended, some 3,000,000 Americans had signed the Stockholm Appeal.

UNSTEMMED TIDE: Here is a brief chronological review of the peace movement since then:

August, 1950: A peace demonstration in New York City's Union Square, prohibited by the mayor, was attacked by police with exceptional violence; many were arrested. President Truman refused to see a delegation of 1,000 women mobilized by American Women for Peace. In Eden Valley, Minn., 200 parishioners of St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church began year-long round-the-clock peace prayers. Five officers of the Peace Information Center, headed by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, were directed by the Justice Dept. to register as "foreign agents." Said Dr. DuBois:

> "Since there is clearly no justification in fact for this demand, I must assume that the Dept.'s action comes suddenly . . . as a further move by the Administration to frighten into silence the voices of peace in America. Whether in support of the World Peace Appeal, the Intl. Red Cross statement calling for banning atomic weapons, or the teachings of the Prince of Peace himself . . . branding those who work for peace as 'foreign agents' will not stem the tide for peace in America."

CHURCHMEN SEEK PEACE: The State Dept. circulated among 450 organizations, government agencies and foreign service missions a document branding the World Peace Appeal "exclusively a Communist program." But a group of 469 leading churchmen of 27 denominations appealed through the Episcopal magazine, **The Witness,** for settlement of the war by conciliation and negotiation. Others urging similar action included the Methodist Fedn. for Social Action and the World Council of Churches.

September, 1950: The **Wall St. Journal** wrote:

> Well, the people have already been told that however the Korean business ends, the country is going on a war footing. We are told to expect years and years of little wars and half wars, perhaps fighting here, perhaps fighting there, but anyway never free to go our own way in peace. We pray that the American people will be spared the moral insanity of ever believing that war is preferable to peace or that war is a way to peace.

The Quakers' Committee on National Legislation appealed to UN, churches and the people to "seek peace and pursue it with as much vigor and determination and sacrifice as men have done to fight wars which have not ended war."

REVOLT SPREADS: An open letter from the Maryland Peace Committee, signed by 1,000, got a reply from Soviet UN delegate Malik that his government was prepared to meet with U.S. leaders for a peaceful settlement. Candidates for the American Labor Party and the Progressive Party campaigned actively everywhere for peace.

November, 1950: The 2d World Peace Congress—shifted to Warsaw, Poland, when the British government barred most delegates—brought together more than 3,000 persons. The U.S. delegation was headed by Dr. Joseph Fletcher of Cambridge, Mass.; passports were denied to Paul Robeson, Howard Fast and Rockwell Kent. On UN day 1,000 women made a pilgrimage to UN at Lake Success, were barred from the buildings. Warren Austin, chief U.S. delegate to the UN, issued a statement calling signers of the Stockholm Appeal "traitors to their country."

December, 1950: Radio commentator Howard K. Smith reported from London:

> "The revolt [against U.S. war policies] has been universal. It is in every free nation and in every political party from left to right."

The **Wall St. Journal** warned of "national ruin" from U.S. foreign policy.

THE TORRENT: President Truman responded to growing criticism with a threat to use the A-bomb. From then on protests multiplied. Some top ranks began to crack: Boston's Dover Group of 21 top bankers, industrialists, educators, lawyers and civic leaders called for withdrawal of troops from Korea and of the U.S. fleet from Formosa, and a UN seat for China.

Sixty New York East Side mothers and their children presented themselves at the UN's new East Side home. The American Women for Peace led a delegation of 2,000 to Lake Success. New peace groups formed everywhere. Private citizens paid for newspaper ads for peace. Minneapolis school children appealed to the UN "to make this a happy world for children." Mail to Congressmen turned into a torrent.

January, 1951: Peace rallies everywhere, in the dead of winter, drew overflow crowds. Peace polls, by radio, by newspapers, by house-to-house canvass, by factory-gate interrogation, turned up startling majorities for any and all peace proposals. Sen. Robert A. Taft's mail ran 100 to 1 for withdrawing from Korea. Letters-to-the-editor columns in newspapers everyywhere began to be filled with pleas for peace; the **Wall St. Journal** ran a full page of such letters, said it hadn't received any other kind.

A NEW CHANCE: Herbert Pell, former Congressman, N.Y. State chairman of the Democratic Party and Minister to Portugal, wrote the N.Y. **Times:** "Why not negotiate now, while the young men are still alive?" Ernest T. Weir, National Steel Corp. board chairman, published a widely-circulated pamphlet in which he urged recognition of the Chinese People's Republic, acceptance of her terms on Formosa, and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Korea.

February, 1951: In New York City the ALP scheduled more than 50 peace rallies in every borough for the month. **March:** Tons of mail to Washington were followed up by a delegation of 2,500 delegates from 36 states brought together by the American Peace Crusade, organized six weeks earlier. **April:** Dismissal of Gen. MacArthur spurred new endeavor by peace organizations.

$64 QUESTION: But the debate that followed MacArthur's removal showed little difference between the Truman war and the MacArthur war: Administration aims were still to kill as many Chinese as possible opposing peace proposals from any quarter. In Phoenix, Ariz., retired Gen. Herbert C. Holdridge said:

> "Our politicians, dominated by the philosophies of the economic oligarchy, are all for war. Not one leader has stood before the people and demanded peace on terms under which peace could be obtainable. Does any one in this audience know our peace terms?"

The Quakers issued a carefully-prepared 64-page study called **Steps to Peace, a Quaker View of U.S. Foreign Policy,** but had to buy space in the N.Y. **Times** to call attention to it.

THE PEOPLE: The 6th anniversary of the crossing of the Elbe and of UN's opening meeting went unmarked by official sources; only peace groups celebrated the day.

May, 1951: Sen. Johnson introduced his cease-fire resolution in the Senate. The press buried it. Said the Senator:

> "It certainly has the stamp of premeditated effort to keep news of the resolution away from the people. . . . I am personally convinced it represents the feelings of a vast majority of people in the country."

The people heard about it: telegrams and letters poured into Johnson's office; Johnson took to the air to tell the nation about it. The word spread as thousands in all communities mailed out printed or mimeographed leaflets, wrote letters to their newspapers. In Chicago the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, one of the oldest, most influential and most active of peace groups, called together 100 state leaders for a conference which unanimously backed the resolution.

WAR & PEACE Malik's peace bid gives heart to Western world

AS the Korean War entered the last week of its first year, Washington moved in Europe and Asia to accelerate its war program. In Paris, the U.S. abruptly ended the Four Power talks, begun March 5 at Soviet initiative to write an agenda for a Foreign Ministers' Conference. In Tokyo, Premier Yoshida announced the expansion of the 75,000-man police force (admittedly the nucleus of a new Japanese Army) and Gen. Ridgway demanded the UN send more ground troops to Korea (36 nations have sent no troops at all). His appeal was considered at UN "unlikely to produce important results" and its timing "open to question" (N.Y. Times).

Then, last Friday, Jacob Malik, chief U.S.S.R. delegate to the UN, made a proposal for a peaceful settlement in Korea. Washington, the N.Y. **Mirror** said, was caught "completely off base."

Speaking on the UN's "Price of Peace" radio program, Malik reviewed U.S. and Soviet foreign policy. The U.S., he said, felt that "it is necessary to arm" to "maintain peace"; the U.S.S.R. felt that "whoever desired peace should seek to resolve by peaceful means the problems arising out of mutual relations with other countries." He concluded:

> "The Soviet peoples further believe that the most acute problem of the present day—the problem of the armed conflict in Korea—could also be settled. . . . The Soviet peoples believe that as a first step discussions should be started between the belligerents for a cease-fire and an armistice providing for mutual withdrawal of forces from the 38th Parallel. Can such a step be taken? I think it can, provided there is a sincere desire to put an end to the bloody fighting in Korea. I think that, surely, is not too great a price to pay in order to achieve peace in Korea."

THE TROOPS LIKE IT: Malik's proposal got banner headlines all over the world. In Korea, UN troops cheered the news. The N.Y. **Times'** Harrison Salisbury cabled from Moscow:

> The rapidity with which the Soviet Union launched a new diplomatic initiative that appeared to contain the possibilities for removing one of the bitterest existing sources of conflict between East and West was not regarded here as coincidence. Instead, some diplomats suggested that . . . there would appear to be the desire on the part of the Soviet Union to keep the diplomatic channels open at least for discussion of these issues.

Except for Washington, all Western capitals seized eagerly on the Soviet initiative. In London, the N.Y. **Times** found

> . . . signs that Mr. Morrison will grasp the Soviet proposal avidly. Britain's Labour Government . . . would welcome almost any solution short of out-and-out appeasement leading to a liquidation of its commitment in Korea.

From Paris, the **Times** reported:

> The French urge that the Malik feeler should be thoroughly probed and that the West should not make the mistake of treating it with too great skepticism before its full import has been discerned.

In Rome, the same paper found "the consensus is that it cannot be lightly discarded."

PERISH THE THOUGHT: Washington's reaction was described as "skeptical." Official statements contained the usual diplomatic cliches: "Propaganda," "We want deeds, not words," etc. Secy. of State Acheson, in a speech prepared before the Malik talk but delivered after it without revision, said: "The Communists talk peace and plan for war . . but we are not deceived."

Washington got a warning from James Reston in the N.Y. **Times:**

> If the U.S. does not take the initiative in finding out what the Russians and the Chinese Communists want to do about ending the war, other governments will. It is understood that the British and one or two other governments have already asked their missions in Peiping [Peking] and Moscow to seek clarification of the Moscow proposals. Similarly other diplomatic missions here . . . were advising their own governments today to revive peace efforts at Lake Success and in Peiping.

UN Secy. Gen. Trygve Lie, vacationing in Norway, telephoned UN headquarters urging prompt "negotiations for a military cease-fire." UN Assembly president Entezam, head of the UN Good Offices Committee, said "it was a good thing on the part of Mr. Malik, but the matter cannot be dropped at this point." He said he would see Malik "as soon as possible."

A FIRST STEP: The Soviet proposal for settling the war was in fact not new. A similar proposal was made to UN's 60-nation Political Committee last October by Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky, who called for cease-fire as the first step, withdrawal of foreign troops as the second. (Malik, too, called the cease-fire a "first step.") A North Korean proposal in April, like Malik's, did not raise the question of China's UN seat or of Formosa. Washington reports last week said that Peking, through India's Ambassador Panikkar, recently put out a peace feeler. The Chinese reportedly asked if Acheson's statement of June 2, that a cease-fire at or near the Parallel "would accomplish UN military objectives," really represented American policy. There has been no U.S. reply.

All top U.S. military chiefs have testified there can be no military solution to the war and have indicated willingness to settle on the 38th Parallel. But Washington, politically bound by its demand for unconditional surrender, committed to Chiang, increasingly hostile to Russia, may not be able to bring itself to negotiate a settlement, fearing a tacit admission of defeat for its foreign policy.

THE PILGRIMS: Just before the Four Power conference breakup, the Soviet

news agency **Tass** commented from Paris:

> While American, British and French diplomats repeat at Paris many times the false assurances that the North Atlantic bloc is allegedly a peaceful organization, something like the Salvation Army, their colleagues in the military field expose the genuine character of this bloc. Charioteering through Europe by no means as tourists, high American generals with soldierly directness speak of what Jessup, Davies and Parodi at the Rose Palace try so hard to mask.

The past month's parade of U.S. top brass to Europe has rivaled that to the Far East in the month before the Korean War. Visits of Gens. Bradley, Collins, Vandenberg and Presidential assistant W. Averell Harriman have disclosed that the U.S. Air Force in England has been tripled in the past year; that U.S.A.F. now operates in Europe, North Africa, Asia Minor; that the 3,000-mile chain of U.S. airbases encircling the U.S.S.R. is being rapidly expanded and strengthened, with bomber bases under construction in Iceland, Norway, England, France, Crete, Cyprus, and fighter bases to cover the bomb routes under way in Morocco and Turkey. (Defense Secy. Marshall asked Congress for $6,500,000,000, last week, to build more bases.)

MORE ATLANTIC PACTERS: The breakup of the Paris talks, said C. L. Sulzberger in the N.Y. **Times**, will be followed by prompt inclusion in the Atlantic Pact of West Germany, Spain and Yugoslavia. Gen. Eisenhower tightened up his commands. A survey showed that Pact nations had tripled their spending for arms since Korea. Spain was admitted to the UN's Intl. Civil Aviation Organization; West Germany and Japan to the Intl. Labor Organization; Chiang Kai-shek to UNESCO.

THEY KEPT THEIR SPIRITS UP

Three women leaders of the Communist Party in the van en route to jail: L. to r.: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Claudia Jones and Betty Gannett.

FREEDOMS

17 more Communists seized in FBI haul

AT 7 a.m. on Wednesday FBI agents knocked on doors, rang bells, hauled from bed to jail a total of 17 persons on new indictments under the recently-upheld Smith Act charging conspiracy to teach and advocate overthrow of the government. The prey were leading figures in the Communist Party, U.S.A. Four others for whom warrants were issued could not be found; on Thursday they were declared fugitives from justice. Two of those charged with conspiracy and seized—Israel Amter, 70, and Jacob Mindel, 69—have been bedridden for years; two others—Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, 61, and Claudia Jones, 34—have serious heart ailments.

Bail for 16 of the victims was first set at a total of $277,500 (the 17th, Arnold Johnson, was held in Pittsburgh in $15,000 bail). Total for the 17 was eventually reduced to $191,000. The government refused to accept $36,000 in Treasury bonds for release of the four most seriously ill. Amter, whose condition is obvious, was paroled in custody of his attorney; $5,000 in cash was posted for Mindel. But on Friday the appeals court directed U.S. Atty. Irving H. Saypol to accept the bonds; the three judges ruled Saypol might contest the Civil Rights Congress' right to put them up, but that he could not keep the defendant in jail pending the outcome. Released were Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Claudia Jones, leaving 13 behind bars.

"DID MAIL ENVELOPES": The indictments closely followed those under which the 11 top CP leaders were convicted, but for the first time listed "overt acts." These were typical:

> - On or about Oct. 1, 1949, Pettis Perry . . . did leave 35 E. 12th St. (CP headquarters).
> - In or about March, 1951, Albert Francis Lannon . . . did issue a directive and cause it to be circulated through Political Affairs (CP theoretical organ).
> - In or about January, 1949, Marion Bachrach . . . did prepare the contents for and did mail approximately 50 envelopes from 35 E. 12th St.
> - On or about July 18, 1948, George Charney . . . did attend and participate in a meeting.

Among the first to protest the new arrests were Elmer A. Benson, chairman, and C. B. Baldwin, secy. of the Progressive Party:

> The Truman-McGrath raids have started. . . . First it was just the 11 Communist leaders. Now the government has announced a program of mass arrests and persecutions of Communists of which this is avowedly only the first step. This sets the pattern whereby no one, Communist or non-Communist, is going to be free to express his views, particularly on the vital question of peace. All these people are being persecuted not for any act on their part, but merely for the advocacy of ideas. . . . There must be a mobilization of speaking out by all Americans who prize their freedom. Those who remain silent now become not only accomplices in suppressing the civil liberties of Communists, but are also endangering their own civil liberties. They will be the next to be attacked.

Other protests came from the N.Y. **Post**, the **Daily Compass**, Vito Marcantonio, Socialist Norman Thomas, and the Civil Rights Congress. The N.Y. **Times** editorialized at length to arrive at the conclusion that "free speech is not at stake": the only thing threatened is "freedom to conspire."

A RE-HEARING? The new arrests were made before the Supreme Court had time to pass on a petition for a re-hearing of the convicted 11. On Friday Justice Robert Jackson denied a stay of execution, which means they will start serving their sentences in about two weeks. He ruled that the possibility that the high court would reargue the case on an expanded basis, as requested by the defense, "is beyond belief." But he granted a stay for the six defense attorneys under conviction for contempt of court until some time in the fall, when the Supreme Court will rule upon the defense petition for a re-hearing. "Under no circumstances," he said, "should these defendants [the 11] be deprived of these counsel until their case is finally closed."

Backing the move for a re-hearing were the American Labor Party and a group of 187 trade union leaders. John R. Green, nationally-known attorney for the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch**, agreed to represent defendant John Gates, editor of the **Daily Worker**. Five prominent liberals—Harvard law prof. Zechariah Chafee Jr., St. John's College philosophy prof. Alexander Meiklejohn, Friends Service Committee secy. Clarence Pickett, ACLU chairman Roger Baldwin, World Govt. Foundation pres. Stringfellow Barr—bought advertising space in the N.Y. **Times** to publish excerpts from the dissenting opinions of Justices Douglas and Black. Prof. Robert M. Hutchins, asst. director of the Ford Foundation, and Osmond K. Fraenkel, attorney, also protested the majority opinion.

THE QUIET ONES: Washington rewarded its heroes. The President appointed Judge Harold R. Medina, who presided at the Communist trial, to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals of New York. Chief Justice Vinson, who wrote the opinion upholding the Smith Act, became head of a "Natl. Commission for the Commemoration of the 175th signing of the U.S. Declaration of Independence," set up by President Truman which proclaimed July 4 a day of re-dedication to freedom.

In San Francisco Asst. U.S. Atty. Gen. James M. McInerney said prosecution under the Smith Act of California CP leaders would start "as soon as possible." Of the country's 93 federal districts, 40 are planning similar prosecutions, he said, predicting the list of immediate victims would total 2,500.

The Civil Rights Congress issued an urgent appeal for contributions to its Bail Fund, to be sent to the CRC, 23 W. 26th St., New York 10, N.Y. All contributions would be in the form of a loan.

PLANNED ECONOMY FROM THE ELBE TO THE CHINA SEA

Prague Fair — socialism's shopwindow

By Gordon Schaffer
Special to the GUARDIAN

PRAGUE, CSR

WHAT an oportunity the Western world missed at this 52nd Prague Fair! Had the great industrial countries of the capitalist world brought their wares to Prague, they would have obtained adequate proof that the countries of socialism are able to offer expanding markets for decades to come. The socialist world has shown that, much as it wishes to trade with the West, it can work out its destiny alone.

If the capitalist world had accepted the Roosevelt ideal of peaceful cooperation between the two systems, Prague would have offered a perfect opportunity for each side to show its strength. We could have compared American cars with the sleek models and mass-produced popular types of Russia. We could have seen how U.S. agricultural machinery stood up against the new combined harvesters and tractors with which the Soviet Union is equipping her own countryside and that of her neighbors.

CHINESE EXHIBIT AT THE PRAGUE TRADE FAIR
Silks and ivories of old Cathay . . . and tires and ball bearings

Britain could have matched her craftsmanship against Russia, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic. Canada and France might have taught something to and learned something from the advancing technique of Polish and Rumanian agriculture.

NO SHOVING: As the shop window of socialism, an international Fair assumes a different pattern from the capitalist model. Exhibitors are not tumbling over each other for orders. The production of each country is planned and most of the output is already committed under trade agreements. The exhibits are designed to show what each country can contribute to the common pool. In none is there fear that expanding production will lead to boom and slump.

A year ago, I saw a similar exhibition at Poland's Poznan Fair. The progress in 12 months is striking. It is now possible to see how in each of the new democracies the economy is moving towards a balance between industry and agriculture. The lie that the Soviet Union is exploiting the resources of these countries for her own benefit is completely exposed. It is clear to all that with Soviet techniques placed at their disposal Czechoslovakia and Poland, with Soviet assistance, are rapidly increasing their heavy industry. Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary, all formerly exploited as sources of food and raw materials, are demonstrating their new industrial development. Hungary proudly tells the story of her new town which is growing day by day around her steel production centre.

WEALTH OF CHINA: The Chinese exhibition provided a staggering picture of how the world's economy will change when 475 million people use socialist planning to exploit her vast riches. The Chinese showed examples of almost every mineral. Here were slabs of tin and wolfram with the quiet reminder that China has the greatest supply of these materials in the world. Mercury, asbestos, arsenic, phosphorus, antimony, copper, gold, chromium, molybdenum, sulphur, all figure in China's display of wealth. She also showed soy beans and their products, of which she holds two-thirds of world production, and plans worked out for expansion of production of wool, silk and cotton.

China's work in silk, pottery, wood and textiles made one realize the immense treasure house which her socialist revolution has opened up to the world.

Equally striking was the exhibit of the German Democratic Republic. German industrial technique wedded to the six-year plan of the Republic is producing staggering results: machine tools, optical and precision instruments, electrical equipment, printing and textile machinery. While West Germany is struggling for markets against British and American competition, the Democratic Republic has a steadily expanding market and the knowledge that the six-year plan will steadily raise her people's living standards.

THEY HAVE COURAGE: In many ways, the most encouraging exhibit of all came from Albania. In this tiny country, hemmed in by hostile neighbors, subject to constant threats, for the first time railways are being built and hydro-electrical schemes are under way. In 1944, no less than 84% of the population was illiterate, but Albania aims to teach the whole population to read and write within eight years. She has drained much of her marshland and is using the land for sugar beet.

"We have strong nerves and we are confident in the support of our friends," one of the Albanian officials said to me.

That might well be the motto of all the countries exhibiting in Prague.

P.S.: I take my hat off to Dawes Instruments, Ltd., 130 Uxbridge Road, London, W.7, the only British firm to exhibit here. A few firms from Switzerland, Austria and Denmark were also represented.

GI's snore as sergeants tell 'why'

THE United States Army has a Troop Information and Education Program which in 50 minutes a week seeks to explain why GI's must kill and risk their lives far across the world. Last month the New York **Times** sent its education editor, Benjamin Fine, on a tour of army installations in six states to study the program and its effects. Fine interviewed 5,000 officers and men, sat through innumerable "commander's conference" lectures of which he reported this sample:

[A sergeant instructor explaining "why we give other countries money":] "We got to keep the nations on their feet so we can sell to them later so you guys can have a job when you get back to your civilian jobs." [Comment by Fine:] Half of the men had a far-away look on their faces; the others were asleep.

"How much power has the President? Can he send troops abroad? Several Presidents have sent troops overboard on their own initiative. . . ." Not a flicker of a smile anywhere. Just a sea of deadpan faces. He corrected himself. "I mean abroad. . . ." Still not a smile. Nearby a soldier snored loudly.

"Who's in Congress?. . . . It's your fault that you're here—because you don't vote. Some of these fellows vote three or four times but you don't even vote once. . . . Now, in summing up, we find that our foreign policy fluctuates." Silence. "This is now the question time. Anybody have a question?" No answer. "I know you all have a opinion. The only one who don't have an opinion is a screwball." That was all.

"WORTH OF THE INDIVIDUAL": To ascertain the effect on morale, Fine listened to GI's answering their own favorite question: "Why am I in uniform?" These were some answers:

"So that my neighbors can make more money while I sweat it out here." . . . "Democracy doesn't mean a damn thing to me in this hell-hole." . . . "They tell us about how bad communism is. Well, why not wait and defeat it when it comes here? Why look for trouble?" . . . "I just have no stomach to fight the United Nations war. It's only for Wall St. anyway." . . . "If my son ever wants to join the National Guard I'll shoot him first." . . . "Once you get into the Army it's like walking in a blind ditch in a snowstorm."

Depressed and frustrated by most of the program, Fine praised the experimental sessions developed by Columbia University Teachers College, tried out on some troops. This was a sample of the Teachers College "Worth-of-the-Individual Hour":

. . . The men identify themselves with the driver of an out-of-control truck. The driver must decide whether to run down a child or drive off the road and risk death. Another picture shows the same situation, except that the truck is loaded with troops. What shall the driver do? . . . The purpose of the hour . . . is to show that in our democcracy people respect the worth, dignity and personal value of the individual. That would be unthinkable in communistic nations.

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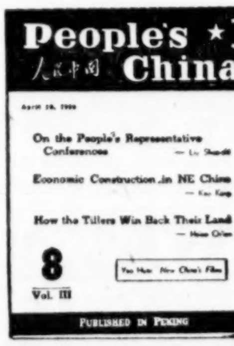

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TRENTON SIX CASE

Fight for the "Two" is on

TRENTON, N. J.

LAST Friday saw the first legal move to win freedom for the "Trenton Two," when George Pellettieri, attorney for Collis English and Ralph Cooper, went into Judge Ralph J. Smalley's court, prepared to argue for a new trial for his convicted clients. But Prosecutor Mario H. Volpe told the court the State was not prepared; the defense motion was postponed at his request for a week.

The motion, filed with the judge and the prosecutor the previous Monday, listed 15 grounds for setting aside the verdict and granting a new trial. Pellettieri's brief called the jury's verdict a "legal absurdity," in that it acquitted Horace Wilson and McKinley Forrest, the only two men whom any of the State's evidence—including the "confessions"—charged with the actual killing of junk-dealer William Horner in 1948.

That the prosecution was not prepared to cope with this argument is not surprising. English now stands convicted only because Elizabeth McGuire, Horner's common law wife, placed him in the store on the morning of the crime (with Forrest and Wilson); and because of his "confession" which the state was allowed to place into evidence. Neither English nor Forrest nor Wilson tallies with the descriptions she originally gave the police the day of the slaying, nor with those furnished by two eye-witnesses.

GEORGE PELLETTIERI
Patience is the virtue

HARD TO EXPLAIN: Even more of a challenge to the State is the need of plausible explanation for English's "confession," which its own witnesses testified was secured only after the 23-year-old, frail, rheumatic - heart - afflicted youth had been questioned almost uninterruptedly for 100 hours—and after he had made five other "confessions" which police rejected. The police testified they themselves told English the story that went into his final, and acceptable, "confession." In it, English does not implicate himself (other than putting himself inside the store), admits neither striking the man nor the woman, nor taking any money.

A defense witness at the trial, noted psychiatrist Frederic Wertham, characterized this statement as "induced fiction." Another defense witness, a Negro named Legrand Brown, said English "identified" him for the police on February 7, 1948, when English was the only defendant then under arrest. The cops let him go, Brown said, when they found out that he and English had never set eyes on each other before.

EVIDENCE—ZERO: Meanwhile Ralph Cooper stands sentenced to life imprisonment on the basis of no evidence whatever. The State's star witness, Miss McGuire-Horner, said that only the three men she named were in the store when the crime occurred, insisted it was impossible for Cooper—or anyone else—to have been present without her having seen him. And one of two "confessions" by Cooper was thrown out by the judge when Negro doctor James Minor Sullivan 3d, who examined him and the others at the signing ceremonies, testified Cooper was drugged at the time.

A four-page statement in Cooper's handwriting was allowed in evidence, but in it he does not mention conspiring with any of the other defendants beforehand (as the State had to prove), nor does he implicate himself as striking any blows or taking any money.

3 WEEKS' GRACE: James Imbrie of the Princeton Committee for the Trenton Six told the GUARDIAN that since the verdict hundreds of letters have been pouring in, indicating a tremendous interest in the plight of the Two; a sentiment that there is no logic to their conviction; and a determination to carry the fight through until they are freed.

But, at the end of last week, the Princeton Committee had received less than $500. Unless at least $30,000 is raised within the next three weeks (the cost of having the 12,000-page trial transcript printed), the right to appeal this conviction will be forfeit forever.

The POWer of the press

INCLUDED in the original information sent to NATIONAL GUARDIAN by the **China Monthly Review** in Shanghai, from which we compiled our first listings of names of U.S. servicemen listed as POWs by the Chinese, there was a clipping from the **China Monthly Review.** It stated that the "Chinese People's Peace Committee for World Peace and Against American Aggression" had agreed to try to forward one letter a month from next of kin to known POWs.

Confident that families of men listed as POWs would welcome any means of communicating with them, we reprinted this information, first however editing out the extra "peace" and deleting the rather bellicose second part of the Committee's name. To our readers and to families writing to us, it became "The Chinese People's Committee for World Peace, Peking, China."

U.S. ENTERS PLOT: In nationwide attacks on us for printing some 800 POW names (official U.S. figures list at most 153) Hearst and Scripps-Howard papers singled out for special venom our listing of the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace, which they said was a part of the "world Communist peace conspiracy."

Last week the U.S. Defense Dept. announced a form "for use by families trying to communicate with relatives who are prisoners of war of the North Korean or Chinese Communists" (N. Y. **Times**, June 21). The address:

"Care of the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace, Peking, China."

Herewith the latest POW names we have received from China:

Adams, Pfc Donell, R.A. 14213941, parents Cotton Wood, Route 1, Alabama
Bolinsky, Pfc. Walter I., R.A. 13316066, mother Mrs. Agnes Bolinsky, Bloomsburg Road 3, Pa.
Dartez, Linton J., R.A. 38224652, notify Miss Elva Chevallier, 707 W. Franklin St., Opelousas, La.
Fabor, Pfc. Albert D., R.R. No. 1, Luzerne, Iowa
Gibson, Pfc. Wilbert R., 46066185, Mrs. Malissa Gibson, 3726 McDougall St., Detroit 7, Mich.
Holcomb, Cpl. Robby S., R.A. 16591377, parents Mr. & Mrs. Edward C. Holcomb, Clay City, R.R. No. 5, Illinois
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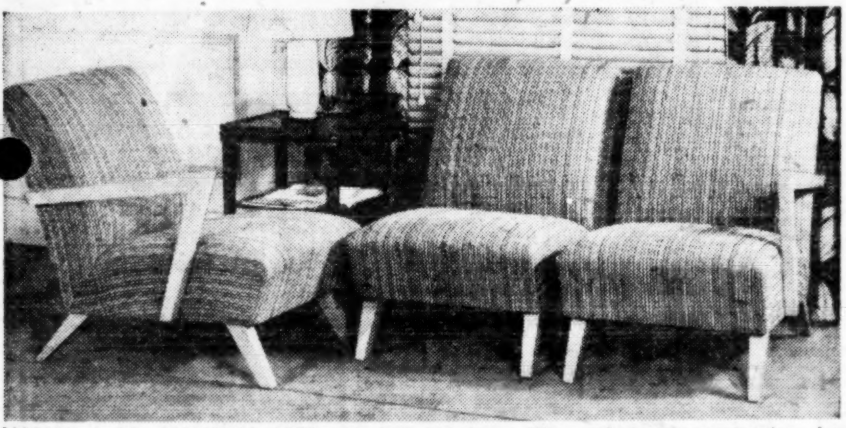

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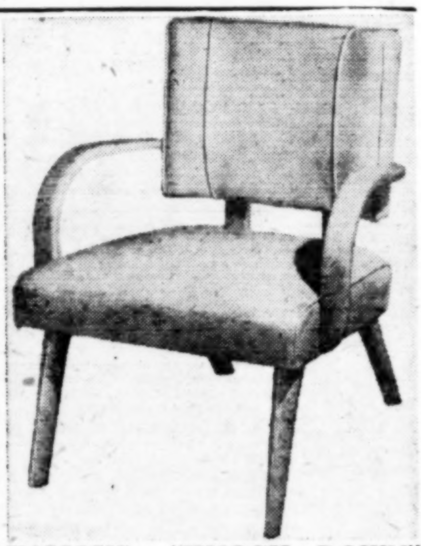

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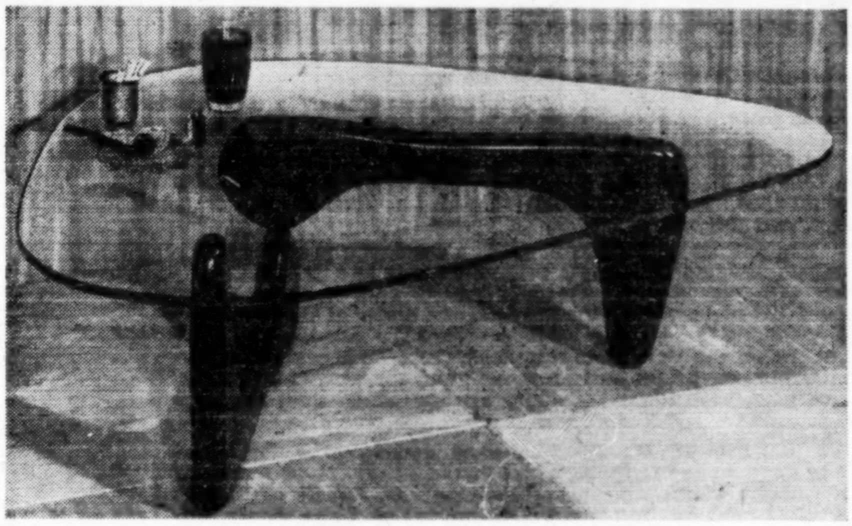

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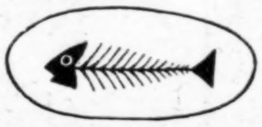
BOOKS Blanshard moves to make peace with Vatican

By Cedric Belfrage

TWO years ago Paul Blanshard set a storm raging about his ears with his **American Freedom & Catholic Power,** a study of how Vatican policies clash with American democratic ideals. In that book he paused but briefly to make the proper "I hate communism, too" genuflection toward Los Alamos, the State Dept. and the FBI.

The pattern of his new book* is a development of the previously-formulated "analogy": "[Communism] is a fanatical religion with commissars instead of priests and Stalin as Pope." Blanshard makes little effort to hold the scales of the "analogy" even, waxing increasingly vitriolic toward the Kremlin and soft-pedaling on the Vatican to the point where he is calling for "an honorable peace with Vatican power" and asking: "If we cannot avoid war [with Russia]—how, when and where shall the issue be joined?"

OUT-ROMING ROME: Soothing-syrup as this conclusion might be in itself to the Catholic hierarchy and the 90% of American information organs and spokesmen who maintain its prestige as an "ally of democracy," it will not serve to turn away their wrath from Blanshard after he has gone through the motions of comparing the Kremlin and the Vatican. The book will make nobody happy except the most stupid and reactionary Protestants. What in fact develops in it is not an analogy between the Kremlin and the Vatican but an exciting race between the Vatican and Blanshard as to who can produce the more demonstrably absurd set of superstitious fantasies.



Blanshard is pained by the Vatican insistence that the Virgin Mary rose bodily into heaven and its sale of sea-water as "sweat" exuding from the preserved bones of a saint. But this is the sort of trumpery he himself embraces in order to make his "point":

- That Russia keeps 14,000,000 people in "slave labor camps." (A simply arithmetical sum shows that on this theory, with deaths occurring since the revolution at the rate accepted by its propounders, the whole population would by now be extinct.)
- That Stalin and Hitler are comparable "dictators." (Blanshard could find the simple refutation of this in the official handbook on Russia distributed to U. S. troops a few years ago).
- That anti-Semitism is officially practised in the U.S.S.R.
- That Russia never abides by its treaties.
- That the Russian workers' "company unions" "do not dare insist on elimination of an unsound industrial practice."
- That while the Kremlin "represents ruthlessness and force," the U. S. is "a messenger of personal gentleness and love."

WELL, LOOK WHO'S HERE! Blanshard admits that "in theory" none of these things are so in Russia, but they are "in practice." His appraisal of Communists and communism is based on statements as to their "practice" by such reliable sources as Louis Budenz—to buttress whom (in a book allegedly "exposing" political Catholic duplicity) Blanshard refers to him as "the devout Catholic writer." Any Soviet citizen reading Blanshard on Communist "practice" would think it was meant as a joke. The only propaganda absurdity in the catalog from 1917 until now that Blanshard does not solemnly set down is the one about "nationalization of women." What he swallows makes the Vatican dogma about the Virgin Mary rational by comparison.

On the other hand only the theory, never the practice, of the American "democracy" he uses as a yardstick for other concepts of freedom is considered. He stands in judgment on a high hill that is not there. Nobody could quarrel with his noble formulation of what American democracy is supposed to be. But we are compelled to wonder whether he is speaking of his own or some other country when, for example, he writes of American schools:

> Apparent error must be examined with candor because it might prove, upon examination, to be the truth. . . . No outside institution should be permitted to tell the teacher or the student what are the limits of reason and curiosity in physics, politics, or ethics. . . . All these fundamental principles are commonplaces in American education.

BOTH EYES CROSSED: Blanshard's whole view of the U.S.S.R. is cock-eyed if only because he wholly ignores the terrific pressure under which that country lives, in face of never-ceasing "democratic" threats to atomize it. His view of the U.S. is cock-eyed because he never looks beyond the pieces of paper containing the principles on which it is supposed to (but does not) operate. His view of the feudalistic hangover, the political Vatican, seems sound enough but merely proves: (1) that feudalism is feudalistic, (2) that there is something seriously wrong with a "democratic" cause that so eagerly woos such an ally.

An effective book could be written on the whole subject of the rigidifying of a revolutionary idea (Christianity, free enterprise, socialism) after it has won power, as a defense against domestic and foreign enemies. Blanshard has not written it. Russian rigidities may look absurd to Blanshard who assumes a godly "objectivity," but the peoples of the socialist countries are not thinking about how they look to Blanshard but of defending the good they believe they have won.

Blanshard mocks them for "deifying" Lenin and Stalin. But Lenin and Stalin promised them socialism and delivered socialism, and it is human nature to adulate leaders who keep their promises. We could do with some of them here.

**COMMUNISM, DEMOCRACY, AND CATHOLIC POWER, by Paul Blanshard. The Beacon Press, Boston. 340 pp. $3.50.*

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ELMER BENDINER of NATIONAL GUARDIAN writes on "Tito's Strange 'Communism'" in July issue of NEW WORLD REVIEW. Other contributors include Jessica Smith, Corliss Lamont, Eslanda Robeson and Frederick V. Field. Send 20 cents for July issue to New World Review, 114 E. 32nd St., Suite 707, New York 16. Yearly subscription $2.

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